

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 IO-13
CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15
DODE-00 L-03 /106 W
-----087769 221918Z /50L

R 221833Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9420
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USINT BAGHDAD
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DJIBOUTI
USINT HAVANA
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SANA
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 05446

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MOPS, CU, UR, ET, YS
SUBJECT: EMBASSY MOSCOW THOUGHTS ON POSSIBLE SOVIET/CUBAN
DEPLOYMENT TO PDRY

REF: (A) TEHRAN 2657, (B) MOSCOW 2315 (NOTAL)

1. AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN'S REF A COMMENTS ON POSSIBLE
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DEPLOYMENT OF SOVIET-CUBAN MILITARY PERSONNEL TO PDRY ARE
TIMELY AND INTERESTING. WHILE WE WOULD TEND TO DISCOUNT
THIS POSSIBILITY, WE CANNOT ENTIRELY DISCARD THE NOTION,
AND, IN ANY CASE, WE AGREE IT IS ONE WHICH BEARS CLOSER
STUDY.

2. IT IS CLEAR THAT ONE RESULT OF SOVIET EXPULSION FROM

BERBERA AND OTHER FACILITIES IN SOMALIA HAS BEEN AN INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY USE OF ADEN AND AN INCREASED LEVEL OF SOVIET MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PDRY IN COMPENSATION. IT IS LESS CLEAR HOWEVER, AT LEAST HERE IN MOSCOW, WHAT OTHER PDRY FACILITIES SUSCEPTIBLE TO MILITARY USE HAVE BEEN EXTENDED TO THE SOVIETS OR WHAT ELSE THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES MIGHT DESIRE (OTHER THAN A FORMAL AGREEMENT COVERING THE USE OF THE PORT FACILITIES AT ADEN).

3. IN RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH OUR MFA WORKING LEVEL CONTACTS (E.G., REF B) WE GET THE IMPRESSION THAT THE SOVIETS THINK THEY HAVE A VERY GOOD THING GOING IN PDRY AND THAT THEY WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO INCREASE GREATLY THEIR MILITARY PRESENCE (LET ALONE THE CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE) IN PDRY FOR THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

-- PDRY IS UNDERGOING AN INTERNAL POLITICAL EVOLUTION WHICH IS FAVORABLE TO SOVIET INTERESTS;

-- WHILE PDRY FACES NO CRITICAL EXTERNAL MILITARY THREAT AT THE PRESENT TIME, AN INCREASE IN SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE COUNTRY WOULD: (A) HAVE A DESTABILIZING INTERNAL POLITICAL EFFECT; (B) GREATLY UPSET THE SAUDIS WHO COULD USE THEIR MONEY TO FINANCE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITY AGAINST AND INSIDE PDRY; (C) INCREASE POLITICAL AND ECO-CONFIDENTIAL

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NOMIC PRESSURE ON PDRY FROM OTHER CONSERVATIVE ARAB REGIMES IN THE REGION; (D) (AND THIS HAS NOT BEEN SAID TO US DIRECTLY) ENCOURAGE THE AMERICANS, THE BRITISH AND THE IRANIANS TO ESCALATE THEIR OWN ACTIVITIES IN THE REGION WHICH WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE INTERESTS OF BOTH PDRY AND THE SOVIET UNION.

4. OPPOSED TO THIS ENCOURAGING LOGIC IS THE FACT THAT SOVIET MEDIA LATELY HAVE BEGUN TO INCREASE THE LEVEL OF PROPAGANDA RHETORIC DIRECTED PRIMARILY AGAINST SAUDIA ARABIA, BUT ALSO TOUCHING ON THE LONG DORMANT SUBJECT OF THE DHOFAR REBELLION IN OMAN. THE VOLUME OF THIS PROPAGANDA HAS BEEN SLIGHT, BUT THE SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IS THAT IT HAS COME AFTER A CERTAIN PERIOD OF RELATIVE SILENCE. IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH ALEKSANDR KOPIN, THE CHIEF OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES SECTION OF THE AFRICA INSTITUTE, HE AGREED WITH THE IDEA THAT THE PREVIOUS, RECENT LULL IN THIS PROPAGANDA HAD BEEN THE RESULT OF A SOVIET CONSIDERATION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME SORT OF IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-SAUDI RELATIONS FOLLOWING SADAT'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM AND SUBSEQUENT POLICY MOVES (MEMCON POUCHED). WE DO NOT KNOW THE EXTENT OF KOPIN'S

KNOWLEDGE OF MFA-CC CPSU DELIBERATIONS, BUT WE EXPECT THAT HE IS AT LEAST AWARE OF GENERAL AREAS OF INTERNAL DISCUSSION SUCH AS THIS ONE.

5. THUS WE ASSUME THAT THE SOVIETS SEE NO REALISTIC PROSPECTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF EVEN A ROUGH COMMUNITY OF INTEREST WITH THE SAUDIS AND WOULD THEREFORE NOT BE DETERRED SOLELY BY CONSIDERATIONS IN THIS REGARD FROM INCREASING THE LEVEL OF ITS MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH PDRY.

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6. WE ARE LEFT THEN WITH SUCH KEY DETERRENT FACTORS AS THE LACK OF ANY OBVIOUS NEED FOR THE DEPLOYMENT IN PDRY OF SOVIET/CUBAN FORCES, AND, THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INCREASE OF POLITICAL INSTABILITY WITHIN PDRY AND THE

PROBABILITY OF CONCOMITANT INCREASED OUTSIDE, WESTERN
SUPPORTED, PRESSURE SHOULD SUCH FORCES BE DEPLOYED.
THESE FACTORS DO NOT SUPPORT THE LIKELIHOOD OF SUCH A
DEPLOYMENT. HOWEVER, ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDER-
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ATIONS FOR THE SOVIETS WOULD BE THE DESIRE AND ATTITUDE
OF THE SOUTH YEMENI LEADERS THEMSELVES. WE KNOW LITTLE
ABOUT THIS AND WOULD WELCOME FURTHER COMMENT BY THE
DEPARTMENT AND OTHER CONCERNED POSTS. TOON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION, TROOP DEPLOYMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MOSCOW05446
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780126-0811
Format: TEL
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780337/aaaabfmh.tel
Line Count: 184
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a55ec1bf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 TEHRAN 2657, 78 MOSCOW 2315
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3239661
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EMBASSY MOSCOW THOUGHTS ON POSSIBLE SOVIET/CUBAN DEPLOYMENT TO PDRY
TAGS: MOPS, CU, UR, ET, YS, PDRY
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a55ec1bf-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014